

RAIN-MAKING AMONG THE LANGO.¹

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THE practice of rain-making and the observances connected with it vary according to the four divisions of the tribe, the Jo Burutok (to the south), the Jo Kidi (to the east), the Jo Moita (in the centre), and the Jo Aber (to the north and west), and it will become evident from the following notes that the variations are due to the influence of neighbouring tribes, as it is probable that the introduction of these ceremonies should be placed within the last three centuries. Among the Jo Kidi, Jo Moita and Jo Burutok the ceremonial is most fully developed, whereas among the Jo Aber, while there is little ceremony, there is at least one custom which derives its origin from their northern neighbours.

Preliminary, however, to my main thesis, an account should be given of a quinquennial festival known as the *Ewor* or the *Aworon*, the festival of honouring (*woro*, to honour, to reverence) the aged and the men of old, as, though it is concerned with all aspects of native life, its main motive is the instruction of the young men in the mysteries of rain-making. This festival is universal among the Lango, with the exception of the Jo Aber.

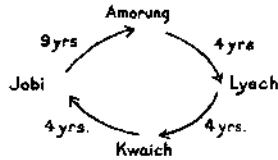
The *Aworon* is essentially a quinquennial festival, but at the end of every sixteen years there is a gap of nine years, instead of four, after which the cycle recommences. This is explained by the fact that for rain-making purposes the initiates are divided into four groups, named after certain animals:—

- A. *Lyeck* (elephant), with which are associated *ekori* (giraffe), *aputiro* (= *kul*, wart-hog), and *etuku* (zebra).
- B. *Kwaich* (leopard), with which are associated *ekworo* (cerval) and *ogwang* (meercat).
- C. *Amorong* (rhinoceros), with which is associated *alop* (hartebeeste).
- D. *Jobi* (buffalo), with which are associated *engato* (lion) and *apoli* (waterbuck).

Each individual *Aworon* is named after one of these animal groups, and the rain festivals for the next four years are said to belong to that group (though actually the

¹ A Nilotic tribe to the N.E. of the Uganda Protectorate, called by their Bantu neighbours Bakedi, by Nilotic neighbours Miro, and by Hamitic neighbours Miro and Atere. Lango, being a Hamitic tribal name, has probably been usurped by our tribe in the past, possibly at the time of the disruption of the Shilluk nation by the Hamites in the sixteenth century.

initiates in the group have few special privileges and no duties). The cycle of *Aworon* is as follows, starting with the *amorung* group :—



The last festival took place in 1915 and was a *jobi* year, and the next should thus be due in 1925. The reason for the interregnum after the *jobi* is that the *jobi* are said to ripen the grain (*jobi ocheko kal*) and accordingly their influence persists longer than that of the other groups, but I am unable to trace any connection between this belief and the current local view which assigns heavy rains and floods to cycles of twenty-one years. There is a second, and probably a more plausible, reason given for this interval, *viz.*, to allow initiates to die off and to make room for their successors. Already representatives of *amorung* and *lyech* are scarce.

The *jobi* call the *lyech* their fathers (*papogi*), and the *kwaich* call the *amorung* theirs, for reasons which will subsequently become apparent, and the few discrepancies in practice in the four *Aworon* groups will be found to be between the *lyech* and *jobi* on the one hand and the *kwaich* and *amorung* on the other. Further, though each group has its own specific songs, it is significant that the *jobi* and *lyech* share *awele* (pigeon) and *aweno*, while *amorung* and *kwaich* share *awalu* (crested crane) and *okokom* (vulture) songs.

The festival takes place in the month of *Aduoduol*¹ (November) at three different localities. The Jo Burutok, embracing Chakwara, Awelo, Ekwera, Aputi, Kangai and West Dokolo, hold it at Ekwera ; the Jo Kidi, embracing Batta, Barr, Aloi, Abako, Orumo, Amugo, Omoro and East Dokolo at Abako ; and the Jo Moita, embracing Chiawante, Kaduku, Nabieso, Kinomo, Kagwata, Kamaich, and Akalu, at Alipa. It should be added that though the Jo Aber do not hold the *Aworon* festival, a few representatives from the west, near Kibuzi, usually attend the Moita *Aworon*.

When the festival is due the *awobi*, or young men who have reached the age of puberty and have not yet been initiated, gather from all the places detailed above at their respective points of assembly ; with them come the old men, versed in the mysteries, especially all the old men whose group year it may be ; these have no option, but must attend. Thus, in 1915, all the surviving *jobi* initiates of 1891 were bound to attend. When they have all gathered, the *awobi* are led by the old men to a traditional sycamore tree, and under this the *awobi* have to sleep for the next three nights. The old men return at nights to sleep in villages, but spend the days in teaching the *awobi* the duties of citizenship, the lore of hunting, the art of fighting,

¹ In modern Lango the month is known as *Adudu* or *Adudu-Otukit*, but the obsolete form is used by old men in referring to the *aworon*.

and the traditions of their race ; lastly, they are taught the mysteries of rain-making, together with the rain dances and the songs appertaining to their group. The *agara* or dance bells are not worn during tuition at the *Aworon*.

Just before dawn of each day is sung the bird song peculiar to the group whose *Aworon* it is. These songs are only sung at the *Aworon*, and have no bearing on rain-making.

Kwaich and *amorung* sing :—¹

Awalu kitem' i bai, a a, awalu kitem' i bai. Apak Awalu oruk' i bai, awalu oruko kiya, oruk' i bai.

(The crested crane starts at daybreak, *a a*, The crested crane starts at daybreak. *Recitative*. The crested crane sings at daybreak, the crested crane sings all night long, it sings at daybreak.)

En ene okokom obeluny, en ene okokom obeluny : oruk' i bai : en ene okokom obeluny.

(That is he, the vulture, he alights, that is he, the vulture, he alights : he croaks at dawn : that is he, the vulture, he alights.)

A a, aluru oya : pap' ochiro kome. A a, aluru oya : pap' okedo kore. A a, aluru ye, a a, aluru ya a a.

(*A a*, the durrha bird arises : his father branded his body. *A a*, the durrha bird arises : his father dappled his breast. *Aa*, the durrha bird *ye, a a*, the durrha bird *ya, a a*.)

Jobi and *Lyeck* sing :—

*Yei atula iia, yei atula iia. Apak Awele papo pa alukangoli.*²

(*Yei* large-headed *iia, yei* large-headed *iia. Recitative*. Pigeon father of white-brow-and-spreading-horn.)

In addition to other bird songs, the following two songs are sung by the *jobi* and *lyeck* groups at the *Aworon* only, but all other songs which are sung at the *Aworon*

¹ Songs of a ceremonial nature all consist of a chorus (*wer*) and a solo or recitative (*apak*). It is almost impossible, even by means of shorthand, to obtain the words of songs and especially of the *apak*, and the essential intonations cannot thus be reproduced. The difficulty is the greater in that they will not repeat the songs to order. In several of the instances below it will be observed that the *apak* has been omitted or much abbreviated. This is entirely due to the difficulty in recording them, and it should be added that though only one *apak* is given to a song in each instance, actually the chorus is repeated time after time, each repetition being followed by a similar *apak*. Grammatically the songs frequently differ from the ordinary idiom and from considerations of rhythm pronouns and prefixes are treated with great freedom. *Vide* also note ¹, p. 62.

² *Atula* and *alukangoli* are both epithets applied in this context to the buffalo. The meaning is not clear, except in so far as the pigeon is one of the patron birds of the *jobi* or buffalo group.

are preliminary to ceremonial use at the rain festivals and will be noted subsequently.

Iya alukangoli alem, a a, iya alukakore alem. Akomol alukakore.

(Thou arisest, white-brow-and-spreading-horn, O hornless one, *a a*, Thou arisest, dun-brow-and-spreading-horn, O hornless one. O dappled buffalo dun-brow-and-spreading-horn.)

A a, egwapeto kangiro, a a, egwapeto kangiro, a a, egwapeto kangiro.

(*A a*, dusky eland, *a a*, dusky eland, *a a*, dusky eland.)

All the day is spent by the *awobi* in undergoing tuition, and in the evening they go to fetch the food. They may not enter a village during these three days, but the food (in the cooking of which no salt may be used, while the beer must be served cold) is placed ready for them by unmarried girls in the *bar* or goat pasturage, and there each struggles to get as much as he is able. *Awobi* who come from a long distance bring uncooked food with them, and it is cooked by women in villages near at hand. During this period there is an absolute truce, even in pre-administration days, when it was unsafe for an unarmed man, much less a woman, to walk from one village to another during the day. All spears, except the sacred spears of the old men, are left in the houses, and may not be brought out under pain of death: a man's worst enemy is saluted by him, even though a recent blood feud is between them. Any transgressor of the peace truce is killed and his village is burnt. The *awobi* are armed only with hide lashes and withies of the tree *epobo* and ropes of plaited grass, and with these they severely trounce any passer-by or anyone who remains in a village, without fear of subsequent retaliation. No sexual intercourse is permitted during these three days, and only old men and children and *awobi* who have already been initiated may enter villages. The *awobi* bring the old men, their teachers, food every evening under the tree, after which the latter go to sleep in neighbouring villages. Thus for three days and three nights the *awobi* are taught and sleep under the sycamore tree and on the fourth day they return to the village.

Before returning to the village, however, the *awobi* first kill a ram of the colour of a small bird called *alibor* (grey) and hence named after it. It is cut up ceremonially (*i.e.*, it is not first skinned, but the meat and skin are cut off together in strips), and is put on spits over a fire under the sycamore tree. While it is cooking the *awobi* and old men proceed together to a *Nam* (*i.e.*, a lake, river or marsh), to the traditional spot, and there the former are washed and have water poured over them by the old men.¹ On their return the old men sit and eat the meat of the ram under

¹ This and the subsequent ceremonies indicate that the occasion is one of especial sanctity necessitating a careful ablution before the initiates may be readmitted into the normal life of the tribe. The prohibition on the use of salt is applied also to women for four days after confinement, and would indicate that for the period in question the *awobi* are marked off from the rest of the tribe by a condition of moral regeneration.

the tree, while the *awobi* go and wait outside the village: they may not partake of the meat. Having finished their meal, the old men gather up the ram's *we* (half-digested matter from the intestines) with the grass on which the blood of the slaughtered animal fell (called for this occasion only *kodi*), and eat it.¹ They also collect all the refuse of the meal and all the ashes of the watch-fire and carefully deposit them in the river at the spot where the *awobi* were washed.

Having done this they proceed to where the *awobi* are waiting outside the village (about 2 p.m.) and the women of the village perform the ceremony of aspersion (*kiro*, to sprinkle ceremonially). The *awobi* stand in a circle round them and are sprinkled with water in which has been mixed the root of a tree called *kwong*, which has been first masticated by the old men: the leaves of a lilac called *olwedo* are used as sprinklers. Were the ceremony not observed all the *awobi* would die.

Warm beer and food cooked with salt are ready in the village for the *awobi*, but before they may enter there is still one ceremony to be undergone. They are each anointed with the beer and the food by the old men in the usual manner, *i.e.*, on the forehead, each cheek and each breast. They are now free to return to the village, but may not drink the beer till sundown, when the *awobi* who have been initiated drink it in little pots apart.

Meanwhile the women have been busy brewing beer for the teachers, the flour having been rounded up by voluntary contributions, and now the *awobi* have to plaster the floor of a large house with cowdung and to strew leaves on it, that their teachers may drink there in the evening. Each teacher has now a disciple or servant (*achapan*),² who addresses him as father, though he may be no relation. The servants of *lyech* teachers are chosen from boys whose age denotes that they will some day be initiated as *jobi*; and the servants of *amorung* are similarly chosen from prospective *kwaich*—explaining why the *jobi* and *kwaich* call *lyech* and *amorung* their fathers, as noted above.

Purposely the old men leave their stools at a distance from the village at which the beer is to be drunk, and at sundown send their temporary servants to fetch them. They must run as fast as they can there and back in order to get the best place for their master in the beer house, and while the old men are drinking each stands behind his master's chair to wave away the flies and to prevent them falling into the beer. Some of the beer is left to be drunk next day. An old man who is pleased with his servitor, with his attentions and zeal, will in future make him presents from time to time, and will even pay the indemnity due for the latter's sexual indiscretions.³

¹ The *jobi* and *lyech* groups do not eat the *we* and the *kodi*, but throw them into the river. On the other hand, they eat the skin of the ram.

² As it is not customary among the Lango to have servants of any kind, this point assumes more importance.

³ Among the Jo Burutok each *awobi* gives the old men a chicken to eat with their beer and the latter subsequently reward them with a chicken in return. The leaves used on the floor of the beer house must, among the Jo Burutok, be from the tree *odugo*. Elsewhere it is immaterial.

The *Aworon* festival or initiation ceremony is now complete, and if it is a *jobi* year all the initiates become *jobi*, *kwaich* if a *kwaich* year, and so on, irrespective of the group to which their fathers belonged. They are taught by all the teachers, whether the latter belonged to that year's group or not.

Mention has been made of the sacred rain spears, and it would be well to amplify the reference before proceeding to the actual ceremony of rain-making. There are three types of spears used for this purpose. The first, which is handed down from time immemorial and of which there cannot be more than ten in existence, is a heavy-bladed, long-shafted, unwieldy spear, black with the smoke and the grime of ages. It is used for the ceremony known as *agat*, or consecration, and is held in the hands of the consecrator.

The second is known as *tong aliro*, a long-bladed spear with a long neck and socket (2 feet), which is solid and ends abruptly without a shaft. It was originally made by the Jo Abur (a Hamitic tribe), but is now also made by the Lango. This is the true rain spear.

The third is the *tong akoda*, or barbed spear, such as is used for hunting crocodiles. It may have from two to six barbs, but like the *tong aliro* has a solid socket and no shaft. The object of this spear is to avert locusts, the barbs being intended to resemble locusts' wings.

Should a spear be lost or destroyed in war, and it is desired to replace it, great care has to be observed in approaching the spear-smith, as there is always the danger that your desire to obtain a rain spear is prompted by a malicious wish to "tie up" the rain and to cause a drought. The making of rain spears is, among the Lango, confined to the clan known as Jo Angodya, and the present smith is one Alecha of Kaduku. The applicant first makes his wish known to the clan Jo Alaki, who if after investigation they consider him a *bona fide* case demand two hoes, which they pass to the Jo Angodya, and from which Alecha makes the spear. The spear is made free, as any payment would destroy its efficacy. (*Tong kot mam okokere*, i.e., A rain spear may not be ransomed.)

A new rain spear has to undergo the ceremony of *lwoko* or *lamo tong* (to wash or consecrate the spear) before it can have any value. This is done at the porch of the owner's house, where water is brought in a calabash bowl, and the spear held upright in it, point downwards. It is washed in the water by an old man conducting the service, who having first spat in the water intones the following prayer:—"May the harvest be a rich one. You, spear of the rain, bring good rain and fruitfulness, that our granaries may be filled and that the hands of our children be not empty; that the hearts of our women may rejoice and that they multiply unto us sons and daughters. This, spear of the rain, do and bring unto us abundance of all things." He then stands upright and, holding the shaft of the spear, dips the blade into the bowl, and with it flicks the water first east and then west, still chanting a similar prayer. Finally he sprinkles the water, scooping it up with his hands and throwing

it high, first east and then west. The owner of the spear also, having spat into the water and uttered a prayer for fruitfulness and good rains, sprinkles the water. The spear is stuck into the ground, blade down, near the porch, and is not moved into the house till the harvest is ripe. During the ceremony and till after the harvest the spear is swathed with a convolvulus called *bomo*.

The ceremony of rain-making is known as *lamo kot* or *mvelo kot*, to consecrate the rain or to dance the rain. It takes place annually from April to July, usually in April, but varying according to the condition of the rains. It may only be performed once for any given area. The ceremony is held, for the Jo Kidi at Abako, for the Jo Burutok at Bata in Ekwera, and for the Jo Moita under a fig tree near Kaduku.¹ The ceremony for the three divisions is the same, but the ritual of the Jo Aber will be treated separately.

As a preliminary to the rain festival, beer flour is gathered and taken to the house of the local head of the Jo Inomo clan, of which clan Oyuku was a celebrated member years ago, and whose descendants to this day have the privilege of presenting the sacrificial goat. His wives and the women of the village prepare the beer.

First Day.—The old men and *awobi*, all with their spears, sacred and profane, but not with more than one spear each, lest they frighten the rain, wearing chaplets and necklets of convolvulus, called *bomo*, and with the *agara* or bells bound round their legs and their spears also festooned with *bomo*, proceed to the traditional fig tree, either the sycamore or the ordinary fig, accompanied by the women and girls. On arrival, the men all stand under the tree, while the womenfolk stand apart, and the old men, irrespective of their animal groups, perform the ceremony of *agat*, or consecration of the spears, each using one after the other the spear kept for that purpose. The men stand in a semicircle towards him, and at each response to the consecrator's litany sway their spears forward towards him.

The *Agat* :—

<i>Solo.</i>	<i>Response.</i>
<i>Waloyo yamoni.</i>	<i>Waloyo.</i>
<i>Wan wamito kot ochwe, oony akirok chatok.</i>	<i>Oony.</i>
<i>Oami ! in, kot, alami ichwe. Ka i chwe, beber.</i>	<i>Beber.</i>
<i>Eryamita ka jigi jigi.</i>	<i>Eryam.</i>
<i>Ka kot ochwe chamaw' ochek, beber.</i>	<i>Beber.</i>
<i>Ka atino olelo, beber.</i>	<i>Beber.</i>
<i>Ka kot ochwe, ber, kot ochwe, ber : ka mon gilelo, beber.</i>	<i>Ber.</i>
<i>Ka awobi giwero, ber.</i>	<i>Ber.</i>
<i>Eryamita ka jigi jigi.</i>	<i>Eryam.</i>
<i>Ka kalwa ochek, ber.</i>	<i>Ber.</i>

¹ The Jo Moita *aworon* is the first to be held and is attended by a few representatives from the Jo Burutok, who, however, are mere spectators, and take no part in the proceedings.

<i>Solo.</i>	<i>Response.</i>
<i>Ka monwa olelo,</i>	<i>Ber.</i>
<i>Ka atino oleo,</i>	<i>Ber.</i>
<i>Ka awobi owero,</i>	<i>Ber.</i>
<i>Ka adongo olelo,</i>	<i>Ber.</i>
<i>Ilech i dula.</i>	<i>Ilech.</i>
<i>Kalwa opong dero.</i>	<i>Opong.</i>
<i>Alech alelech.</i>	<i>Alech.</i>
<i>Ka yamo odok Burutok, ber.</i>	<i>Ber.</i>
<i>Ka kot odok Burutok.</i>	<i>Ber.</i>
We overcome this wind. ¹	We overcome.
We desire the rain to fall, that it be poured in showers quickly.	Be poured.
Ah ! Thou rain, I adjure thee fall. If thou rainest, it is well.	It is well.
A drizzling confusion.	Confusion.
If it rains and our food ripens, it is well.	It is well.
If our children rejoice, it is well.	It is well.
If it rains, it is well ; if our women rejoice, it is well.	It is well.
If our young men sing, it is well.	It is well.
A drizzling confusion.	Confusion.
If our grain ripens, it is well.	It is well.
If our women rejoice,	It is well.
If our children rejoice,	It is well.
If our young men sing,	It is well.
If the aged rejoice,	It is well.
An overflowing in the granary.	Overflowing.
May our grain fill the granaries.	May it fill.
A torrent in flow.	A torrent.
If the wind veers to South, it is well.	It is well.
If the rain veers to South, it is well.	It is well.

Following on this the men all sit down in orderly rows under the tree for the *Arab* or prayer. The old men lead the prayer and the rest respond in a monotone, concluding each prayer with a long-drawn, deep-throated moan. The prayers are directed to Min Jok, Mother of God, and invite her assistance in their festival to ensure good rains and a satisfactory harvest, and she is urged to discover to them any whose hearts are evil and who purpose concealing or withholding the rain by magic. They then proceed to dance the *awala* or bell dance (*awala* = *agara*, bell), a syncopated dance only performed at this ceremony. There is no music, but the dancers

¹ Explained by the last line. The dry season wind is easterly and the rains come when the wind veers to the south.

are formed into a circle and a soloist stands in the centre, singing while they dance and join in the refrain. All the performers make the gestures and sounds appropriate to their animal group and imitate their actions. Only such songs are sung as belong to the animal group which last celebrated the *Aworon* before the festival: thus at the present time (1918) only the *jobi* songs would be sung. In the centre of the circle one, or at most two, pairs of dancers perform a *pas de deux*. The women dance apart and at the end of each dance *ngato* and *goyo jira*, i.e., perform the victory dance and raise the cry of victory as after battle. Four or five dances being concluded, the spears are gathered and stuck point downwards into the ground under the tree. (Were they stuck point upwards, the rain would be frightened away.) The sacred spears are also stuck in the ground there, and none of the spears is removed till the whole business is over. A little special beer is brewed under the tree in an *agulu ma doge aryo* (a sacred earthenware pot with two mouths), and is poured into an *obuto* (a drinking-cup only used in these ceremonies) and is left there. All return home.

Second Day.—Nothing is done.

Third Day.—All go to the tree again and dance the *awala*. The oldest man takes with him a *gweno ameri* (black and white chicken)—also called *ataloka*, because being of more than one colour it is symbolic of the rainbow (*ataloka*). The chicken is held by the wings and waved over the spears and fluttered against the tree (tech. term, *buko*), and is killed and eaten there by the old men under the tree, where its bones and feathers are left collected into a heap. All then return home.

Fourth Day.—As before, they proceed to dance the *awala* under the tree, taking one he-goat and one ram.¹ The privilege of presenting these animals belongs, as has been noted above, to the clan Jo Inomo, and more particularly to the Oyuku family of that clan. Having danced under the tree, they go in procession chanting a minor dirge to certain villages, by which it is customary for the rain procession to pass from time immemorial. The procession first marches round the village, and then entering it, they stick their spears points down in a courtyard in the middle of the circle of dancers. The *awala* is performed as before, and while it is in progress a bowl² of water is fetched and placed near the spears. When the dance is over, the old men, one after the other, asperse the water, using for the purpose a plant of the thistle order called *ekwanga*: the water is sprinkled up over the dancers towards the east, while the operator mutters a prayer much on the same lines as that already

¹ Among the Jo Burutok and Jo Kidi the goat and the ram are of the colour called *amuge* (brown), ceremonially also called *ataloka*. The Jo Moita only use a black goat, as it is symbolical of rain clouds. In no case may a red goat (*arema*, blood-coloured) be used as, symbolizing blood, it would be unlucky.

² The water is fetched in an *awal makech* (bitter, i.e., new calabash), and the privilege of furnishing the *awal*, and also the *obuto* and *agulu me doge aryo* referred to above, belongs to the clan Jo Agorya.

recorded in the ceremony of *lwoko tong*. Proceeding thus from village to village, they return to the tree late in the afternoon.

On their return the goat and ram are ceremonially killed¹ (i.e., by closing all the orifices of the animals till they die of asphyxia) under the tree, cooked and eaten by initiates of the animal group whose rain year it may be, e.g., the *Jobi* would eat them during the years 1915–1919. The fire for cooking the meat must be made over the remnants of the chicken killed on the previous day. Dung from the intestines is smeared on the spears and on the tree, and the old men each take a sip of the *kongo me obuto* (the special beer brewed on the first day). Fresh, cold water is drawn from a neighbouring spring at a traditional spot and each old man drinks a little, while other water in which medicines prepared from the roots of certain trees² have been mixed is thrown up into the air (not aspersed over the people), and an old man climbs the tree, sprinkling the medicated water on its leaves, praying the while for good rains and harvest. When the dance is finished each man pulls up his spear and they all go home. The beer which was prepared before the festival started is now drunk by the old men at the house of the *Won-kot*³ (owner of the rain), and no one else may drink it except by invitation. If anyone should be so bold, he would fall down dead and could only be brought to life by the grace of the rain-maker, who will, if he so wishes, pour water on him to this end. The rain spears are stuck in the ground by the porch of their owner, and so long as they stay there the rain will fall satisfactorily. They are removed at the beginning of the dry season in order to permit the rain to stop and to enable the grass to dry for the burning.

At the end of the dance the *Won-kot* and one old man take the feathers and bones, heads, skins, ashes of the chicken, goat and ram, which have been killed, and bury them secretly in a river or swamp.

On the last day also before the goat and ram are killed, another kid and lamb are consecrated to take their place by the head of the Jo Inomo, as there must be no interregnum, no period in which there is not a sacred goat or ram. They are consecrated in the usual manner, the performer spitting on his hands and rubbing the animals on their shoulders, sides and stomachs, and pouring water on their heads with both hands, praying at the same time, "May the virtue of this kid and the virtue of this lamb secure us good rains, etc." They must, of course, be brown, or (among the Jo Moita) black. They are kept by the Inomo clan until they grow up

¹ They are not killed if at the time the rains are good, but are kept till next year or for a drought.

² Probably *owilakot*, *kwong* and *orvo*, but it is uncertain.

³ *Won-kot* means literally "Owning the rain," or Rain-maker. The title is applied to various old men, who appear, however, to have no peculiar authority either over the elements or at the festival. Its application is obscure, and it is probable that originally the *Won-kot* was a person of great power, as among the Madi, but gradually lost his rights and privileges by a process of democratization. The last *Won-kot* of any general power was one Olet of Lira, who died about two years ago, and had a great reputation as a maker of rain independent of these rain ceremonies.

and are required at the next festival, but should a dry spell come unseasonably before the next year they may be sacrificed in the village courtyard, the spears having all been gathered there. Water is thrown up as before and the intestinal dung is smeared on the spears. The killing is not ceremonial, and therefore the skin is undamaged and belongs to the *Won-kot*, and the meat is eaten by all. Others are, of course, consecrated to take their place. Should the clan Jo Inomo not possess a goat of the right colour, they may take a suitable goat from anyone, and the owner would not be able to object: and the consecrated goats are in no way molested if they stray into and spoil crops, and the Jo Inomo are not responsible for damages.

The following are some of the songs sung at the rain festivals, but only *jobi* songs are sung in *jobi* years, and so on.¹

¹ It has been suggested above that the rain ceremonies are of extraneous origin, and among the many indications that this is so, the songs sung at the festival afford a most significant proof. Further than this, however, it is probable that the *aworon* festival is also a comparatively late introduction, as a similar but largely elaborated ceremony holds among the neighbouring Hamitic tribes, viz., the Karamojo, Iteso and Akum (or as they are more generally and inaccurately known, the Kumam). In fact, one old man went so far as to say that the clan Jo Alaki were the first to introduce the ceremony from the Akum. There are numerous points of divergence, but among these Hamitic tribes there is a quinquennial ceremony, as among the Lango, who are alone among Nilotic tribes in holding any festival similar to the *aworon*; but instead of four animal groups there are eight, and the groups are named not only after animals, but also after inanimate substances, e.g., *esingu*, sand. Further, the initiates are always young lads, and the ceremony would appear to be more truly one of initiation to puberty with less emphasis on rain, and the initiates permanently take the name of their groups as their own personal grade names. The eight groups are classed in two divisions of four groups each, and during the *aworon* there is a state of war between the two divisions, resulting in numerous deaths, though (as with the Lango) only buffalo hide whips may be used. This state of war is entirely outside the general truce. In these two divisions we may trace the very vague combination of the *jobi* with the *lyech* and the *amorung* with the *kwaich*, which would appear to have lost its original *raison d'être*. Without proceeding to details, enough has been said to show that the festivals are similar, and taking into consideration the fact that the ceremony is unique among Nilotic tribes, and is both widespread and more developed among Hamitics, it is reasonable to suppose that the former learnt it, with the consequent rain festival, from their neighbours.

This supposition is supported again by the fact that the rain spears were originally made by the Jo Abur, a Hamitic tribe closely akin to the Karamojo; and by the fact that the Lango of Orumo still fetch the sacred water from the Jo Abur.

The Hamitic tribes being to the east and south, it is natural that the Lango to the north, the Jo Aber, who come under different influences, should not participate either in the *aworon* or in the usual rain festivals, and it is extremely noticeable that the farther south one travels the more established does one find the custom.

The Iteso and Karamojo in times of drought have, in addition, recourse to human sacrifice, but this at no time found favour with the Lango, except the Jo Aber, who are largely influenced by a Nilotic tribe, the Acholi, to whom rather than to the Iteso may be traced the habit of killing an old man in times of prolonged drought. The Acholi have been quite unaffected by these Hamitic customs, and it is probable that the rite of human sacrifice came down to them from the Madi, by whom an unsuccessful rain-maker is generally done to death.

To revert now to the songs given below, the last chain in the evidence is completed. While the chorus is as a rule easy to understand, the recitative more often than not has little or no meaning.

Amorung songs :—

Ngor oling alinga,
Ngor ochung i ngony yago,
Oling ni ti, ngor,
A a e o ooo.

Ngor oling alinga,
Ngor obed' i ngony yat,
Oling ni ti, ngor,
A a e o ooo.

Apak *Ngor ka riki duny' apua kemo kidi. Awapo Nyara¹ ka riki tur ka ekesan ebyong. Ngor oduny' apua kar' ngo? Ngor oling i ngony ebyong ka etiron, a a, ngor ka duny' apua ka alirok. Ngor kaliro ka duny' apua. Koko ngor ewapo kidi ka ebyong, oduny' apua.*

The rhinoceros is at silent rest,
 The rhinoceros stands at the foot of the kigelia,
 He is utterly silent, the rhinoceros,
A a e o ooo.

The rhinoceros is at silent rest,
 The rhinoceros sits at the foot of the tree,
 He is utterly silent, the rhinoceros,
A a e o ooo.

Recitative. The rhinoceros where it throws up the dust looks towards the hill. I follow Nyara where it was on the other side where the young man was, the acacia tree. When does the rhinoceros throw up the dust? The rhinoceros is silent at the foot of the acacia with horn

This is largely due to the fact that a great proportion of the words are Hamitic, and are evidently handed down as part of the ancient formula. Much of the formulæ is not intelligible even to the old men, and I have little doubt that as they extemporise the recitative they introduce isolated words and fragments of half-remembered formulæ, without worrying a great deal about the meaning which they intend to convey, beyond a general sense which is already familiar to all the participants.

The very names of the animal groups indicate a Hamitic origin :—*e.g.*, *amorung* = Lango *amoching* (called also *ngor* in the first song), and for *kwaich* the Hamitic word *erisa* is sometimes heard.

Not only are Hamitic words and obsolete forms retained, but so far do they go that the letter *s*, which does not exist in Lango proper, is pronounced in words which are of Hamitic origin, though the sound approximates more to *chs*. The letter *h* also, though not employed in Lango, appears in these songs.

To take one song only, the last of the *jobi* group, the following words are of Hamitic origin, and can all be found in everyday use among the Iteso, Karamojo or Turkana, though often with slight variations of form or meaning :—*Abong, aryong* (= Lango *eryonget*), *aiur, akochewan* (also *akosiwan*, vide Ateso *ekosobwan*, and Karamojo *ekosogwan*), *awong, ekesan, ebelebele, adwaran*. And nearly all the names of animals which appear in the various songs are Hamitic names instead of the usual Lango.

¹ Nyara, the name of a hill to the south-east in Teso country.

at the charge, *a a*, the rhinoceros throws up the dust steadfastly. The rhinoceros standing still throws up the dust. The cry of the rhinoceros follows the hill where the acacia is, and he throws up the dust.

Ebu akomol, a e a,

Ebu akomol, kar' iyenyo ngo kan ?

Ebu akomol, a a a,

Ebu akomol, kar' iyenyo ngo kan ?

Apak *Ebu papo pa Alubayo, ewoto i wor, papo pa Alubayo.*¹

O dappled hyæna, *a e a*,

O dappled hyæna, what seek you here ?

O dappled hyæna, *a a a*,

O dappled hyæna, what seek you here ?

(Recitative.) The hyæna father of Alubayo (the "roadfollower") travels by night, father of Alubayo.

In iyenyo ngor maduny' apua ?

In iyenyo ngor maduny' apua ?

Apak *Ngor keken in iyenyo, ngor maduny' apua.*

Searchest thou for the rhinoceros that throws up the dust ?

Searchest thou for the rhinoceros that throws up the dust ?

Recitative. For the rhinoceros alone dost thou search that throws up the dust.

Lyeck songs :—

*Alira*² *moro yam' Oluju* :³

Piny oru, o o.

Dong kuk jo Awalu, gin ene.

E e, Alira moro yam' Oluju :

Piny oru, a a.

*Wun, jo Awalu,*⁴ *gin ene.*

Apak *Onyang oruk' atil oporo kar' ekesan.*

Some Alira conspire with Oluju :

The dawn breaks, *o o*.

¹ *Ebu* (*vide* Ateso and Karamojo) = Lango *odyek*, hyæna. The meaning is not clear, but perhaps *Alubayo* is by assonance intended to indicate *alop*, the animal associated with the *amorung* group.

² The Alira are a section of the Acholi tribe.

³ In 1911 Oluju, a Lango Chief (since dead), obtained assistance from the Alira to make war on Ogeta's people at Abako.

⁴ Ogeta's people are called Jo Awalu in the song with reference to the marshy nature of their country, the water bubbling up (*walo*) in numerous little springs.

Then warn the men of Awalu, "Here they are."

E e, Some Alira conspire with Oluju :

The dawn breaks, *a a*.

You, men of Awalu, here they are.

Recitative. The reedbuck calls to the cob, he is like unto a young man.

Chokeunu !

Onyang ochung wi biye,

Ochung ni pim.

E e, onyang ochung wi biye,

A a, wi biye, i a a a,

Chokeunu !

Onyang ochung wi biye,

Ochung ni kang.

Apak *Onyang oruk atil kare poron ekesan poron ebelebele tur ekesan
Onyang oruk' atil poron k' adwaran. Onyang oruk' atil poron ebelebele.
ka tur ekesan. Wapo kidi ebyong, kar' wapo kidi . . . ka iwek wapo
kidi ka tur, hai wapo kidi, wapo Nyara, kok' otemo Nyara, ee eee ee eee,
awapo Nyara.*

Gather ye together !

The reedbuck stands on the anthill,

It stands unwavering.

E e, the reedbuck stands on the anthill.

A a, on the anthill, *i a a a*,

Gather ye together !

The reedbuck stands on the anthill,

It stands motionless.

Recitative. The reedbuck calls to the cob like a young man, utterly like a young man on the far side of a valley. The reedbuck calls to the cob like an elder of the people. The reedbuck calls to the cob utterly like a young man on the other side of a valley. To follow the hill of the acacia, for thou followest the hill. . . . Shouldst thou cease following the hill to the other side, ha ! following the hill, following Nyara, the cry aims at Nyara, ee eee ee, I follow Nyara.

*Eryeng aa pap' Onyeng,*¹

Eryeng papo aa,

Onyeng Eryeng,

Eryeng pap' Onyeng aa,

Pap' Eryeng Onyeng.

Apak *Egero amagoro. Kok' owapo kidi, etemo Nyara. Egero amagoro.*

¹ *Eryeng* and *Onyeng* both = Lango *kul*, warthog.

Eryeng *aa* father of Onyeng,

Eryeng father *aa*,

Onyeng Eryeng,

Eryeng father of Onyeng *aa*,

Father of Eryeng Onyeng.

Recitative. He builds in the wilderness. The cry follows the hill, it aims at Nyara. He builds in the wilderness.

Kwaich songs :—

Achanya me Olum, erisa obuto k' achanya.

Achanya me Olum achanya.

En erisa obuto k' achanya me Olum.

Achanya, erisa obuto k' achanya.

Awot anen.

Apak *Aa, k' Olum kare edoket, Abongo, ibuto k' achanya. Achanya en.*

The banana leaves of Olum, a leopard sleeps in the banana leaves,

The banana leaves of Olum, the banana leaves.

He the leopard sleeps in the banana leaves of Olum.

The banana leaves, the leopard sleeps in the banana leaves.

Let me go to see.

Recitative. *Aa*, At Olum's, at the place of the ford, Abongo, thou sleepest in the banana leaves. The banana leaves are they.

Elwa mè apel tye k' Angung,

Elwa me apel tye Angung.

Apak *Akok' elwa apel. Epwonya dyang Onango.*

The lightning-charred *elwa*¹ is at Angung,

The lightning-charred *elwa* is at Angung.

Recitative. I lament the lightning-charred *elwa*. Epwonya the cow of Onango.

Kworo mam.

Ogwang owoto dyewor, a,

Ia, ogwang, a,

Ogwang owoto dyewor, a,

Ia, ogwang, a.

Apak *Kwor' omako gweno. Ogwang pa Epwonyaokwayo gweno. Ogwang owoto dyewor kare kworo kare kwor' emunyuru, kar' ogwang omako gweno kar' kadi gwok gu. Ogwang emunyuru kar' ogwang kworo. Ka eee eee kare dyang pa Onangepwonya. Kare ogwang owoto dyewor kare kworo kar' ogwang, kar' oleko dyang Onango, eee eee eee.*

¹ *Elwa* is the tree *Chlorophora excelsa*, Bth.

The cervical is not.

The meercat travels by night, *a*,

Ia, the meercat, *a*,

The meercat travels by night, *a*,

Ia, the meercat, *a*.

Recitative. The cervical takes the chicken. The meercat of Epwonya begs a chicken. The meercat goes by night, be it the cervical or the meercat, for the meercat takes the chicken, ay even the dog also. Be it the meercat or the cervical. For *eee eee* even unto the cow of Onangepwonya. For the meercat travels by night, be it the cervical or the meercat, for that it drives off the cow of Onango, *eee eee eee*.

Jobi songs :—

Jobi owot' ayeyo wiye,

Otyer tye i ite, otyer tye i ite,

*Okem Amongolem.*¹

Jobi owot' ayeyo wiye,

Otyer tye i ite, otyer tye i ite,

Okem Amongolem.

Oluk omwere jobi bala dok Amongolem.

Jobi owot' ayeyo wiye,

Otyer tye i ite, otyer tye i ite,

*Alochit Apeta.*²

Jobi owot' ayeyo wiye,

Okem Amongolem.

The buffalo goes with head on high,

The bird is on his ear, the bird is on his ear,

He faces the Amongolem.

The buffalo goes with head on high,

The bird is on his ear, the bird is on his ear,

He faces the Amongolem.

Oluk is a match for the buffalo as at the mouth of the Amongolem.

The buffalo goes with head on high,

The bird is on his ear, the bird is on his ear.

Alochit of the spreading horns.

The buffalo goes with head on high,

He faces the Amongolem.

¹ Amongolem, a river to the south-east near Nyara Hill.

² Alochit is another name for the man Oluk, the hero of a celebrated buffalo hunt. A (i. e., of the spreading horns) is the name which he took to commemorate that event.

Ha! Yeyeyeye, bilo jobi,

Bilo kok' i kuku, bilo jobi.

Ha! Yaaa,

Bilo kok' Ayago, bilo jobi.

Ha! Yeyeyeye!

Apak *Ngora Ajwang, Ngweny Adeker,¹ ekesan k' adwaran ebelebele ka tur.*

Ha! Yeyeyeye, the flute of the buffalo,

The flute sounds in the river, the flute of the buffalo.

Ha! Yaaa,

The flute sounds in the Ayago,² the flute of the buffalo.

Ha! Yeyeyeye.

Recitative. Ngora son of Ajwang, Ngweny son of Adeker, young man and elder of the people, utterly on the far side.

Mony Ngora madupo kuluno,

Aimai!

Mony Ngora madupo kuluno,

Aimai!

The host of Ngora skirts this river,

Ah! Woe is me!

The host of Ngora skirts this river,

Ah! Woe is me!

Kiyakiya, a aia,

Dyangni yam tye kwene mumoyo piny?

Tye Alabatu.³

Kiyakiya, a aia,

Dyangni muneko piny yam tye kwene?

Tye Alabatu.

Kiyakiya, a aia,

Dyangni yam tye kwene mumoyo pi?

Tye Alabatu.

Apak *Kok' Achuralem ribiribi ka tur.*

O glistening whiteness! a aia!

Where was thy cow, thy cow that swallows the earth?

It is at Alabatu.

¹ Ajwang is the mother of Ngora, and Adeker the father of Ngweny, Ngora's maternal uncle. The Ngora mentioned in this and subsequent songs was a great general who led three successful expeditions against the Madi about sixty years ago.

² Ayago, a river flowing into the Moroto or Aswa.

³ Alabatu, a large open plain near Nimule. This refers to a large cow paid as ransom by a Lango prisoner to the Madi on one of their numerous expeditions.

O glistening whiteness! *a aia!*

Where was thy cow that destroys the earth?

It is at Alabatu.

O glistening whiteness! *a aia!*

Where was thy cow, thy cow that swallows the waters?

It is at Alabatu.

Recitative. Cry to Achuralem, cry swiftly to the other side.

Gin 'a job' oneno mam oweko:

Dyang tye loka.

Apak *Otyer ka rupe, otyer ka chupe.*

What the buffalo sees he leaves not:

The cattle are across the river.

Recitative. The bird whispers it to him, the bird advises him.

Ngora owot' ayeyo wiye.

Kon' ochal nadi? Ochal nadi?

A a, amagoro ka mo,

A, ochal nadi? Ochal nadi?

Ngora owot' ayeyo wiye.

Kon' ochal nadi? Ochal nadi?

A a, amagoro ka mo,

A, ochal nadi? Ochal nadi?

E e, jobi owot' abong k' abong.

Apak *Aaa jobi owot' awi k' awi, owot' aryong aryong. Jobi owoto ki wiye mere atur k' atur, Apeta k' Alochit. Kara jobi owot' awong k' awong, odacho choto i wiye . . . oweko kare akochewan. Aa jobi owoto k' awong awi k' awi k' aryong, odacho choto wiye. Ekesan, ha a! Ekesan, ha a! Owoto Amongolem, kare otyer tye i ite, ka rik' atur k' atur. Odacho choto i ite, jobi owoto ki wiye mere ki awong, abong k' abong. Akosiwan, otyer tye i ite. Ekesan, ye eee! Ewapo kidi, kok' otemo Nyara. Jobi owoto kidi ki wiy' awi ebelebele tur k' ekesan k' adwaran. Jobi owoto kidi ki wiy' awi ebelebele tur k' ekesan k' adwaran, ebelebele tur k' ekesan k' adwaran, eee eee!*

Ngora goes with his head on high.

Now what is he like? What is he like?

A a, the wilderness where lies the enemy,

A, what is he like? What is he like?

Ngora goes with his head on high.

Now what is he like? What is he like?

A a, the wilderness where lies the enemy,

A, what is he like? What is he like?

E e, the buffalo travels in herds.

Recitative. *Aaa* the buffalo goes with his head on high, he goes in great companies. The buffalo goes with his head swinging this way and that, O Alochit of the spreading horns. For the buffalo goes multitude on multitude, he scatters mud on his brow . . . he leaves his haunts, the buffalo. *A a*, the buffalo goes in multitudes with his head on high in great companies, he scatters mud on his brow. Young man, *ha a!* Young man, *ha a!* He goes to the Amongolem, and his bird is on his ear, as he sways his head from side to side. He scatters mud on his ears, the buffalo goes with his head on high in multitudes, in herds. The buffalo, his bird is on his ear. Young man, *ye eee!* He follows the hill, the cry aims towards Nyara. The buffalo goes to the hill with his head on high utterly to the other side with the young man and the elder of the people. The buffalo goes to the hill with his head on high utterly to the other side with the young man and the elder of the people, utterly to the other side with the young man and the elder of the people, *eee eee!*

Should the rains fail in spite of these ceremonies, recourse is made to one Angwech, an aged woman who lives at Abako and holds a position unique among the Lango. She has only attained her present eminence within the last five years, but is now known and acknowledged by the whole tribe, even in the most remote areas.¹ She is not a rain-maker, and professes to have no power over the elements, but is a priestess of Atida, called by all except the very few initiated *Min Jok*, or the Mother of God. As the priestess, she has the power of divination and prophecy, and her advice is sought—with gifts—on a diversity of matters, including rain. During the prolonged drought of 1918² she was approached by embassies laden with gifts from all parts of the District, and it is a remarkable fact (call it coincidence or what you will) that in nearly all cases her assistance was successful. Nor is she a mere charlatan, as is shown

¹ This is the more remarkable when it is remembered that since the disruption of the Shilluk kingdom the Lango have had no paramount Chief, but have been divided under the authority of local war-leaders.

² The reason given for the 1918 drought is not without interest. To the north-east of the Lango is the river Moroto, and in March of this year a man fell from the sky near this river, bringing with him a bag of money, a leg of a cow and four soldiers. He is black, and speaks Lango without any foreign accent, and states that though he comes from a place where there are cattle innumerable and wealth unspendable he will consent to live on the earth. Orweny of Batta, a powerful wizard, asked him about the drought, as he would be sure to have the latest information, and the heavenly visitant informed him that it was due to the fact that a certain *jok* (God) had committed adultery with the wife of another *jok* and refused to pay compensation, and that, therefore, in his wrath, the latter had stopped the rain. Orweny by his enchantments secured the arrest of the former and the payment of compensation towards the end of May. Hence the June rains.

by her reception of an embassy from Kaduku, whose gifts were unusually rich and numerous. "No," she said in reply, "I will not give you the sacred water, nor will I take your gifts, as it is not I who have helped you. Before you reached me it rained at Kaduku while you were yet on the way. Return with your gifts: it has rained in abundance." She lives, it should be added, about fifty miles from Kaduku.

On the deputation of old men reaching her, Angwech gives them such advice as she considers will avail them, including directions as to the sacrifice of chickens and goats and the method of their disposal, and takes them to the sacred pool, called *Ot Jok*, or House of God. Here the old men besmear themselves with mud from the pool and throw mud and water into the air. They pray for success to crown their efforts, dancing the *awala*, and are finally presented by Angwech with some sacred medicated water from the pool, which they take home in a calabash.¹ On arriving home, they assemble the countryside at the village of the *Won-Kot*, and having carried out the instructions of Angwech (which vary considerably) asperse the assembled multitude with the sacred water, praying for rain.

Should the drought continue in spite of this, it is suspected that one or more of the old men have maliciously concealed the rain, and endeavours are made to find the culprit. The old men first search among themselves and, should they find him, beat him severely, make him undo his magic and pay a fine of four goats and four sheep, which they eat themselves. If they are unable to find the culprit, all the old men are mercilessly beaten by the *awobi*, and are mulcted of innumerable goats, in the hope that they will be induced to deliver up the culprits, whom they are now suspected of shielding.

Rain may be hidden or "tied up" in various ways. (a) Mud is taken from a pool of rainwater, rolled into a ball, and hidden in a house, granary, or tree. (b) The skulls of the animals killed at the rain festival are not disposed of properly, or are subsequently stolen. In one case they were stolen and ground to dust with fatal effects on the rain.

In addition to the rain songs given above there are two more songs connected with the rain: *wer mach* (the fire song), which is sung after lightning has struck a house or property:—

*Opet awanga, yaa!*²
Opet awanga, aaa!
Awang awang awang, haaaa!
Anok anak amat, aaa!

¹ In the case of the Lango of Orumo, there is a special rain road only used during a prolonged drought in order to obtain sacred water from the Jo Abur, some three days' march. It had not been used for over twenty years till 1918, and was quite overgrown, but its course was well known.

² The sense of this song is not clear, beyond the fact that it refers to a spreading conflagration.

Awang awang awang, haaaa !

Anok anok anat, aaa !

Apak *Akok' awanga kare, a yeyeye aa ! Awang i tata ka tur kare. Haya ! awang i tata ka tur kare. Anok anat, ha, anok anat, awang awanga. Ha aa, awang awanga do, aaa, awanga, yeee, tur ekesan, yeee, awanga, yeyeye, awanga, yeeee, awanga, yee, ebelebele ekesan, ee eee !*

and *wer bonyo*, the locust song. This is either a *jobi* or a *kwaich* song, but as its singing is forbidden, neither group admits its responsibility. Should it be sung, the locusts would come with the rains, and it is consequently impossible to obtain the words. It would only be sung with malicious intent, and in this connection it is of interest to note that the clan Jo Atengoro is especially entrusted with the task of repelling an invasion of locusts. They catch one and enclose it alive in a small newly-made earthen pot, the mouth of which is then sealed over with clay. It is put on the ground in the direction of the advancing swarm, and an axe-head is stuck in the ground beside it, and is there consecrated with the usual ceremonies. The axe-head is never touched again nor taken back to the village, or it would bring back the locusts.

There remains the practice of the Jo Aber, which is much less complex, and is frequently much truncated : there is less unity observable also, and often the ceremonies are conducted clan by clan.

The assembly, having sacrificed a black goat, first proceeds in procession to a spring, which has traditionally been the home of the rain, and there they catch a frog, which is said to be the *Won-kot*, or the Owner of the rain, in proof whereof the rains break when the frogs croak. They smear the frog with mud and rub mud on their own breasts and foreheads. Water is thrown up from the well into the air both with the hands and with the thistle called *ekwanga*, while the old men pray, " May rain fall as this water falls : may it fall on our grain and fructify it exceedingly, bringing joy and increase to our wives and children."

The procession then passes by a prescribed route from tree to tree and pool to pool, the men and women keeping apart. For the most part the men are silent, but the women sing continuously (not the rain songs above, but songs of everyday life, including some songs usually reserved for the ceremonies attending the birth of twins), and dance the *abalachela*, a dance similar to the *awala* but peculiar to this ceremony. They dance it under trees, in villages and by pools, and as they walk in procession, contrive to retain the steps of the dance. Both men and women are garlanded and wreathed with the convolvulus, *bomo*. The men carry one spear each.

At each pool water is sprinkled and mud is rubbed on the body, both by men and women, and the following procedure takes place at each of the trees (always a fig or a *kigelia*) at which the procession stops. The tree is rushed with much noise and shouting to drive out the rain which has taken shelter in its trunk, which is then tied round with ropes of plaited grass in order to restrain the wind and to cause it to be at

peace. The women sing at a distance from the tree, while the men in a deep and solemn voice perform the *agat* as given above.

Numerous trees and pools are so visited, and the ceremony ends without further variation, except at Lira, where, after all the trees and pools have been visited, the procession reaches a small gneiss outcrop, where it rests while the men again perform the *agat*. Everyone then gathers up all loose pebbles and covers them with grass and earth, as it is thought that should they be left unconcealed the rain would be frightened away.

The women now disperse, but the men proceed to Ngeta hill, each armed with his one spear, and on arriving there form a semicircle facing it, and as they dance the *awala*, threaten the hill with their spears, singing at the same time :—

Kot, chwe : nen tong : kot, chwe ki anywal anywala.

Rain, fall : behold the spear : rain, fall with fruitfulness.

This ceremony is further unique among rain ceremonies in being accompanied by the long drum, *atimu*, which is played by the *Won-kot*.

In case of failure the Jo Aber also obtain advice and water from Angwech, and alone of all the Lango select for death one of the old men, should they persist in withholding the rain.